

527 is no bull riding and the market is unimportant. In place of the market there is a mock market conducted by the persons who have some special occupation.

527 While all the occupations in the town are
463 represented in the fiesta, only the more impor-
624 tant ones take official part. These are the *arrieros* or muleteers, the traveling merchants and storekeepers, the agriculturists, the shake makers, the board makers, and perhaps others. For each of these groups, eight commissioners are named for each *barrio*, or a total of 32 for each occupation involved. The commissioners are obligated to provide a group of musicians for their occupation. They are privileged to take up a collection from other members of the occupation, but contributions are strictly voluntary and payment is not enforced by the *municipio* as is the case with the fiesta of the patron saint. The merchants usually nominate their own commissioners, transmitting the list to the mayor; this may be true of other occupations also.

Other occupations, such as the breadmakers, the weavers, the butchers, the storekeepers, and the honey collectors, are also participants in the fiesta, but they are not obligated to provide a group of musicians, although they sometimes do so. The honey collectors, however, have special duties.

527 Some 15 days before the fiesta, the honey
297 gatherers take the two images of their patron saint, San Anselmo, to the rancheria of Cosúmo. They usually make a camp in the woods, where they have music and drink a great deal in the evenings. During the day they collect bee nests or *panales*. These are brought to Cherán shortly before the fiesta, and two structures, *katárakua*, are prepared. These are made of two poles crossed at one end to form a V. Cross pieces are fastened to these and the whole well covered with shakes. To the shakes are fastened the honeycombs collected, held in place with a large net similar to the fish nets of Lake Pátzcuaro. The two largest honeycombs are placed at the top of each structure. In this fashion they are paraded around the plaza on the days of fiesta (some say only on Tuesday). After the fiesta they are sold.

• [526] The *panaleros* or honey gatherers also stage a greased-pole climb near the calvary on the

527 east side of town. At the top of a smooth,
 237 well-greased pole are placed cigarettes, hand-
 [526] kerchiefs, etc. These are called the *panal* or
 "honeycomb" and form the reward of the first
 man to get up the greased pole. The honey
 gatherers also often hire musicians, but this is
 voluntary on their part.

527 The fiesta begins on Monday and ends on
 543 Saturday, but the main events take place on
 Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday. On these
 days all the persons following different occupa-
 tions assemble in the plaza, and there is a mock
 market. Each person exhibits the type of
 goods he has made or the occupation he follows.
 Shake makers split shakes on the plaza and
 the plank makers saw planks. In addition,
 miniature shakes and planks are made and
 offered for sale. The carpenters make minia-
 ture houses. The farmers (and possibly the
 restaurant keepers) set up tiny tables with
 miniature dishes and serve miniature portions.
 They offer tiny tortillas about 2 or 3 cm. in
 diameter and other things, including the dishes,
 in proportion. When people partake of the
 food they ask, "How much?" The reply is
 "One hundred pesos" or some fantastic sum.
 The purchaser, however, usually gives a piece
 of chewing gum, candy, or some other small
 object. The blanket weavers and belt weavers
 offer miniature blankets and belts for sale as
 well as tiny woven wrist bands. Agricultur-
 ists exhibit all the seeds they grow, and in pro-
 ceSSIONS scatter seeds over the crowd. The
arrieros or muleteers exhibit the goods they
 carry, such as salt, rice, brown sugar, and other
 basic necessities. They also make atole in the
 plaza, with a man grinding the maize on a
 metate. The traveling merchants and store-
 keepers exhibit notions such as thread, chewing
 gum, and dry goods. The breadmakers make
 quantities of miniature breads about an inch
 [436] and a half in diameter. These are used as
 money by everyone.

527 About 2 o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday,
 543 Thursday, and Friday, those exhibiting their
 198 wares carry them about the plaza, giving a
 special high-pitched cry used on no other occa-
 sion. At first they say nothing, but then they
 use special Tarascan words, also employed on
 no other occasion. "*Arjeta*," they shout,
 meaning "Come quickly everyone," followed by

[p.218a]

Sierra Tarascans

La Cañada

796 ribbons and flowers at the points. Persons of other occupations also appear similarly decorated. All throw objects at the onlookers. The ox drivers scatter seeds, the muleteers throw flour and bran, the breadmakers throw bread, the overseers scatter ink. The honey gatherers collect many honeycombs from the mountains to sell and give away. One is placed at a corner of the plaza on a greased pole. The leader of the honey gatherers on this day is called *kurindure*. The butchers station themselves in one of the arcades of the plaza and butcher a goat, whose blood is thrown at the people. One of the butchers disguises himself as a coyote and steals a piece of meat; the others pursue him about the plaza.

[515] On the day of San Juan, June 24, both sexes
[533] bathe early in the morning. The youths provide musicians, who play while the girls are bathing. In the houses where there is a person named Juan, a rull is placed between small boards tied with a cord. Youths on horseback try to seize the rull with their hands. The cord is jerked as they ride past, in order to make the task harder. The same is done on the day of San Pedro in the houses where there is someone named Pedro.

535 On the day of Santiago, *moros* and soldiers
796 dance. The *moros* always come from the *barrio* of the *mayordomo*, while the soldiers come from the other *barrio*. They dance on the 25th and 26th, first in the chapel of the hospital, then in the priest's residence, then in the house of the mayor of the town, and then in private houses where they are given presents of fruit. Each group has a first and second captain. Each pays for 1 day of the music and serves a meal in his house. The *mayordomo* of Santiago has no expense except the Mass and another group of musicians who play at the church. The dancers gather to practice the evening before the day of Santiago at the house of the *regidor*. The *rosarios* give a supper of *curipo* and *kurindas*. The *fiesta* is called *trindakua*.

796 On the day of the Conception, youths and
[533] girls take musicians to the Virgin and sing *las viejas* to her in the church.

On December 12 the image of the Virgin in the hospital is removed from the altar and placed in the middle of the chapel. Girls and boys become "brothers and sisters" by crossing

GAMES OF THE MOUNTAIN TARASCANS¹By RALPH L. BEALS and PEDRO CARRASCO²

121 ONE of the major changes in the field of Americanist studies in recent years
 171 has been the recognition of an increasing number of parallels between the simpler cultures of South America and those of North America. In a recent article in this journal, Dr. Robert H. Lowie reviewed some of the evidence and summarized the significance of the problems for American culture history.³ One difficulty in interpreting the parallels now on record has been the absence of intervening cases between northern South America and the United States border. A decade ago the senior author of this paper pointed out evidence of parallels with South America to be found in northern Mexico and ventured to suggest that they represented the peripheral survivals of a culture once found in the Central and South Mexican and Central American areas which had been supplanted by the development of the high cultures.⁴ Such a view would be greatly strengthened if survivals of such traits could be found in the intervening region of Middle America.

171 One striking parallel between North and South America is the occurrence
 526 of games similar to hockey in the Gran Chaco and among the Araucanians.⁵ Despite the presence of elaborate ball games of different types in the intervening regions, hockey is strikingly absent. The major importance of the present paper is the recording of a hockey game still existing among the Tarascans in a region of high Middle American culture. As the modern Tarascans are notably deficient in games, associated types are also described, including a form of *quince* or *patolli* and two European games.

The presence of European games might suggest a post-Conquest introduction of hockey. Variants of the European games, however, are widespread in

¹ This paper is a contribution of the Program for Anthropological Investigations among the Tarascans, a cooperative program of the University of California and cooperating Mexican institutions. See *AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST*, 42, 1940, pp. 708-711.

114 ² The data for this paper were collected by Sr. Carrasco in 1940-1941 while working as a student assistant from the Instituto Politécnico Nacional under the direction of the senior author. The senior author's part in this paper consists of field direction, translation and editing, and the writing of the introductory paragraphs. With one exception the games described are all from Angahuan, a large village in the municipio of San Juan Parangaricutzi, about 25 miles west of Uruapan, Michoacán. The village is notably conservative in outlook and customs and the games described are not known in most Tarascan villages.

131 ³ Robert H. Lowie, *American Culture History* (*AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST*, 42, 1940), pp. 408-428.

⁴ Ralph L. Beals, *Comparative Ethnology of Northern Mexico Before 1760* (*Thero-Americana* 2, 1932), pp. 151-152.

⁵ Erik Nordenskiöld, *Comparative Ethnographic Studies* 9, p. 8; Alfred Métraux, *El Hockey, Deportes de los Indios Chiriquíes y de los Araucanos* (*La Prensa*, Buenos Aires, July 14, 1940, Section 3).

Mexico, while hockey hitherto has not been reported. Neither is there evidence that hockey type games were ever played by the Spanish. Angáhuán, the only village for which the game is reported, is one of the most isolated and conservative Tarascan villages. The games follow:

Udsukuni.⁶ The game is played by two opposing sides of equal numbers. Any number may play. Each player has a stick, *udsukarókua*, in either of the two forms shown in figure 1. Mango wood is preferred. The ball, *lardndukua*, is often made of rags, but one made by winding cord about a center formed of a white substance secreted by the green worms of the madrone tree is preferred. The latter type of ball is called *lardndukua landri*.

The game is always played around a block of the town. The starting point is a street intersection. The two teams line up as shown in figure 2. A representative of each team stands in the center of the intersection. One throws the ball in the air and each player then tries to knock it toward his own team. The winning team must take the ball around the block back to the starting street intersection.

The teams are sometimes representatives of different blocks in the town. The block chief, an official appointed annually by the mayor for each block in the town, names the men who will play. Men so named may not refuse to play. The most important occasion on which the game is played is the day following the feast of Conception, December 8. This day is called *siránguá*. An official called the *kíni*, who cares for the hospital (formerly a hospital in fact but now the residence of the *kíni*; and the repository of ceremonial equipment) and runs errands for the heads of the ceremonial hierarchy in the church, makes an especially big ball of rags for the game. Two very large teams play with this ball, playing around each block of the town successively.⁷

Akúpperani. Two men play with the same stick and ball used in *udsukuni*. The players start in the middle of a street and each attempts to knock the ball to an established goal.

Aidsukuni. This game is played at Cherán, a large town 20 miles northeast of Urapán. Any number of players compete in two teams of equal size. Each player has a stick, *aidsukúka*, curved at one end and from a meter to a meter and a half in length. The ball, *apósikua*, is made of rags wrapped with cord. The players line up opposite one another according to the numbers engaged (fig. 3). The contest begins in the middle of a block and each side attempts to take the ball to the opponents' end of the block. A representative of each team first tosses a coin or pot sherd at a line. The man whose piece is nearest the line

⁶ The spelling of native terms is in the official alphabet now being used by the Departamento Antropología de América Indígena.

⁷ The resemblance to the winter hockey games of the Southwest is very suggestive. Silvia Rendile writes that the game is played daily from December 9 to Carnival and that each block and every man competes during this period.

526



FIG. 1

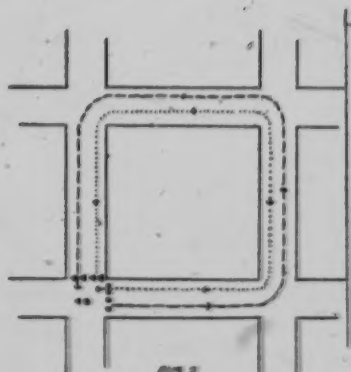


FIG. 2

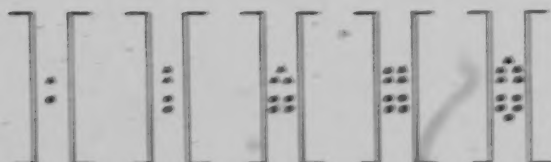


FIG. 3

[524]

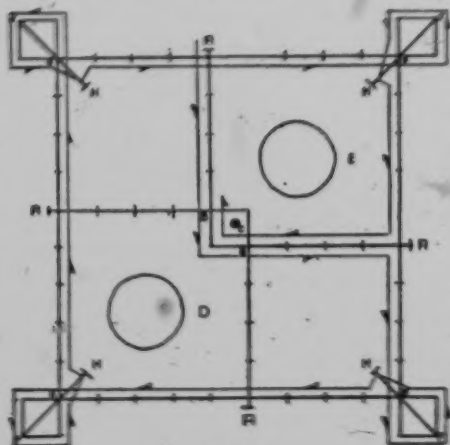


FIG. 4

Figure 1. Sticks used in adashani.

Figure 2. Arrangement of course around a town block of adashani. Players are shown at the starting position.

Figure 3. Various arrangements of players for adashani.

Figure 4. The board used for adashani co-quince. The lighter line with arrows indicates the course followed by the pieces of one player. The letters are referred to in the text.

puts the ball in play, knocking the ball toward his opponents. If possible, he lifts the ball in the air as it is thus more difficult to stop. If the ball passes the end of the block, the last man of the team nearest that goal must go after it, followed by the other players of his team who are supposed to maintain a constant distance from him. Should all the players of a team have to pass the line at the mouth of a street in order to keep the proper distance, the game is won by the opposing team.

The game may also be played with two balls which are put in play one after another.

The game is played only by boys and unmarried young men in the dry season during the winter. It is said that the reason for this is that the streets are too wet in the rainy season. The game may be played in the fields; in this case lines are drawn to represent the street. The game has almost disappeared and few young persons even know it.

In Charipán the Angahuan type of game is known. In Chilchota, a former Tarascan town now "mestizoized" and where Tarascan is no longer spoken, a similar game is played during the rainy season at a place called La Mesa where there is turf.

Professor José Corona Núñez has also described a similar game in the former Tarascan town of Cuítaco on the lake of the same name.⁸ The ball is a piece of burning maguey root, 7 to 10 centimeters in diameter, which burns slowly but stubbornly. The game is played at night and the ball gives off showers of sparks when struck. The opposing teams represent different barrios.

Professor Corona states that several codices show gods playing ball with a sort of stick or racket. He also mentions rock paintings near Queréndaro, Michoacán, showing two ball players with sticks or rackets. Ball players with clubs, playing in an "I"-shaped court, are also shown in a mural recently discovered at Teotihuacan.

Koltē aldrakua.⁹ This game is a version of quince or patolli. A course or track is drawn on the ground or on a board (fig. 4). Two players compete, each with four pieces called *moskukua*. The players start at two opposing points (A in fig. 4) called *apōrus*. The course followed by one player is indicated in the figure. Each piece is advanced in accordance with the score made by throwing four stick dice. The players take turns throwing the dice and moving the pieces. A player may apply the score made in one throw to only one piece.

If a piece comes to rest on the points marked B, it is said to be burned and must be started again at A, but until it is put in play again it must rest at point C, *kawisfka* or bonfire. While on the interior part of the course the pieces of the two players will never stop on the same spot, but on the outer part of the

⁸ *El Nacional* (September 6, 1942, México, D.F., first section), p. 1.

⁹ In Angahuan the *u* is often omitted, giving the form *aldrakua*. The "I" sound only occurs in Tarascan in borrowed words; probably *koltē* is in this category, but its origin is not identified.